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The Macedonian question is a sore and touchy point for all Governments of old Yugoslavia, has become more so for the Government of "Marshal" Tito. It has become the first worry of the Communist Government. The differences on the Macedonian question between the Soviet Union and Marshal Tito have once again proved the nationalistic ideas of the Marshal.

The Soviet Union wished to create a "Macedonian Republic" from the Yugoslav Macedonia (today the People's Republic of Macedonia), the PIRIN Macedonia (today in Bulgaria) and from the Greek Macedonia. This Republic was supposed to form a part of Bulgaria. Thus the Soviet Union wished to strengthen the Bulgarian Communist Party which did not seize the power itself or fought for it much, but was carried into office by the Soviet armed forces. Its influence on the Bulgarian masses is weak, much weaker than the influence of the Yugoslav Communist Party on the Yugoslav masses. Its power is based exclusively on force. By getting Macedonia, the Bulgarian Communist Party would gain prestige in the people and consolidate its power. From an international point of view, i.e. from the point of view of the world proletariat, it does not matter whether Macedonia will be within Bulgaria or Yugoslavia. It was to be apportioned to where the Party interests were stronger (Tomorrow, when the prestige of the Italian Communist Party will have to be strengthened, Moscow will demand to return Trieste to Italy. Note from 99). This rumour took root in Macedonia since the liberation.

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The Macedonian Communists accepted the rumour and made it their own. All people, respectively ~~Communists~~, with different ideas have been eliminated from the leading positions. The Macedonians do not show their attitude. They are quiet, waiting for the proper moment to realise their idea. They are afraid of Belgrade, because the Central Committees of the Yugoslav CP has other views. It believes that the Macedonian Republic should remain within Yugoslavia. Communists with views other than this are traitors to the Party.

The Macedonian Republic was nationalised immediately after the liberation, first of all. Bank Institutes, the industry, the shops, the craft changed from private ownership into national ownership. The nationalisation of the villages was started at once with the creation of land cooperatives - of *kokhoses*. The transition period progressed slower in other Republics. In Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia it has not been closed yet for the individual economy branches.

The new authorities confiscated the property of all Serbs who left Macedonia during the war, respectively the Bulgarian occupation, and escaped to Serbia. Not only were they deprived of their property, but even forbidden to return to their houses. No decree was passed, they simply got no certificate of residence. Such is the case of the GALIC brothers, known merchants of SKOPLJE who are Macedonians and own an estate in Macedonia, or that of Milorad RISTIC, former General of the Yugoslav Army. He settled at SKOPLJE after the first world war and built four houses: two for his daughters, for each the son and himself one. They are

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all grown up, with many children. They live at Belgrade now and are not allowed to return to SKOPJE. Another case is that of Ing. Mihajlo KRSTIC. He inherited, prior to World War II, the known hotel "Bellevue" at OHRID (by the lake) from his parents. He was sentenced by the OHRID Court to one year's loss of national honour and confiscation of the hotel. His parents were really from BITOLJ, while he wasx born at Belgrade. Consequently, if anybody, the court at Belgrade was responsible for the case. Meanwhile, the court at Belgrade gave absolutely no consideration to the question. KRSTIC did not know about the sentence and, consequently, was unable to appeal in time. Such attitude of the new authorities toward people who are oriented to Belgrade, can be understood only if it is known that the Macedonian Communists on power are - pro-Bulgarian. The authorities are suspicious of and dislike to permit the return of people who, for justified fear of Bulgarian reprisals in 1941, left Macedonia. Things were not different with Bane ANDREJEV, member of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party and Minister of the Central Government. He was not appointed secretary of the Macedonian Communist Party because he was considered pro-Belgrade. Although himself a Communist, he was considered by Macedonian Communists as pro-Serbian (the author of the letter is a school fellow of Bane ANDREJEV whose name in prewar Yugoslavia was ANDREJEVIC. He and the author studied at the Belgrade technical faculty. Note from 99). After the publication of the Resolution, Bane ANDREJEV took the Soviet view on the Macedonian question. Since this became publicly known in Belgrade,

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Bane ANDREJEV was compelled to deny this news in the daily Press and declare himself against the Resolution, as well as give a declaration of loyalty to Tito. However, his statement is not trusted much.

The Resolution was accepted with joy by the Communist authorities in Macedonia. The Macedonian Parliament (Narodno Sobranje) was ready to proclaim the cession of the People's Republic of Macedonia from Yugoslavia and its incorporation into Bulgaria. The Communist authorities in Macedonia believed that the time has come for the realisation of their idea and desire. Events proved that it was too early. Marshal Tito and his Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party were still going strong. The episode was concluded by the dismissal of a few Ministers of the Macedonian Government, a regular trial at SKOPLJE, the dismissal of all suspected Communists. Some of them escaped to Bulgaria, among them Communist ~~MRs~~ from the Macedonian Parliament. Others, who publicly approved the Resolution, were arrested. The separatist idea, though not realised, is nursed secretly by ruling Macedonian Communists. At a favourable moment it will appear again (such are the statements of Ing. HARALAMOVIC, employed in a factory near SKOPLJE; of Metodije BOSKOVIC, graduated lawyer, department head of the Executive People's Committee of SKOPLJE. Both are Macedonians and reliable men).

The Belgrade Macedonians (some 30,000 men) who worked and longed for a "Macedonian State" for years, did not go the newly created Macedonia. For them she remained alien and unfamiliar. They are afraid of her. Their emigree conception of Macedonia was different. A typical example of the attitude of

Belgrade Macedonians to the Macedonian question is Onufrije KOSTIC, buffet owner and proprietor of STALJINGRADSKA ULICA. Having emigrated to the USA, he returned to Yugoslavia long before the war, brought plenty of dollars and bought a block of houses from the cafeteria GINIC toward the workers' Home (Radnicki Dom). He lived here with two brothers, many children, relatives and other family members. He operated a buffet in one of his shops. His buffet was the centre of Macedonians. Whoever came from Macedonia, he passed through Uncle Onufrije's buffet. All who longed for a Macedonian State came to see Uncle Onufrije. Uncle Onufrije had many troubles because of his Macedonia - he suffered much. The old Yugoslavia interned him at a camp in BILECE. His friend Dr. Ivan RIBAR was interned with him. Finally the Communists realised the dream of Uncle Onufrije, they created the Macedonian Republic. Yet, Uncle Onufrije did not go to Macedonia, though he suffered much for her. The Macedonians again met at Uncle Onufrije's buffet. The new authorities did not allow it. The Communists again arrested Uncle Onufrije. He was sentenced to 8 months of forced labour. But his friend Dr. Ivan RIBAR, President of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Republic, did not forget him. His sentence was commuted into a fine. The authorities disliked the buffet, however, which was the centre of Macedonians. The buffet was closed down. Still, Macedonians passing through Belgrade, call upon Uncle Onufrije to hear when this state would take an end.

They created the Macedonian language. All family names were altered. Books are printed in Macedonian, which the Macedonians

do not understand. Many Communists oppose the new language. Ceda MINDEROVIC, secretary general of the Yugoslav Writers League (Udruga Knjizevnika Jugoslavije), was resolutely against the Macedonian language as director of the publishing organisation of Serbia, "PROSVETA", and refused to print books in Macedonian. Meanwhile the idea prevailed that a Macedonian language had to be created and it is being created now (Macedonians speak a language which possesses more ancient Slav words than the Serbian. It is a transition between the Serbian and Bulgarian languages, but more related to the Bulgarian. This language was never written in books, since the Macedonian intelligentsia studied either in Bulgaria or Yugoslavia. They learned the Serbo-Croat language and made it their literary language. After World War I, the Serbian writer of Macedonian origine, Gligorije BOZOVIC, wrote a few works in Macedonian which he, as a writer, created himself. The Macedonian language of today is created by decrees of the Communist regime. Note from 99).

A Macedonian opera was founded. Joca SKULJ, formerly director of the Belgrade Opera, was called to organise the new institution. The Macedonian Minister of Enlightenment demanded that all operas be sung in Macedonian. In vain SKULJ argued the difficulty and unnecessary efforts linked with such undertaking. He argued that because of cadres and other Operas in the country it is far better that they are sung in Serbo-Croat. Yet, "Cavalleria Rusticana" was sung in Macedonian. SKULJ, in the end, refused to fight about with the new language, inspite of the high salary which he was offered, and returned to Belgrade. However, the Ustashi Colonel, and former martial band leader, Lovro MATACIC, PAVELIC's director of the ZAGREB Opera, adopted the Macedonian language with

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"great zeal". He is now the conductor of the Macedonian Opera. He went to Macedonia straight from the Prison.

Tito thought that by creating the Macedonian language he would win the Macedonian people, above all the weak Macedonian intelligentsia who were mostly educated in Bulgaria and thought pro-Bulgarian. In the beginning it appeared that he was fully successful, and that the People's Republic of Macedonia is his most faithful republic. Such was the situation as long as the Macedonian intelligentsia, exploiting the rights awarded by Tito, thought that they were drifting away from the Serbians, from Belgrade. It was the trend toward independence. With the Cominform resolution, however, the same Macedonian Communist intelligentsia believed that the time has come to show their true colour and manage the following step - incorporate Macedonia into Bulgaria. As far as this, the efforts of the Yugoslav Communist Party with regard to Macedonia, failed. The Communist attempt to create a "Macedonian Republic" proved a failure. They created a Republic without republicans, a socialist Republic, without Socialists. They created a Communist authority without politically educated Communists. They created a language which nobody understands. They created a State, alien to the citizens in it. The citizens are afraid of their State, they hate it. Only the name is reality, the rest is deceit. The Macedonians therefore did not greet the new Republic. They withdrew and wait. They think that the present situation is only a transition period.

There are no republicans in Macedonia. The time was too short to form them. The people in Macedonia were divided into

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pro-Serbian and pro-Bulgarian. Something more than 30 years have passed since the country was liberated from the Turks. The traces of slavery are still clearly visible. The Republic is something new for the people.

There are even less Socialists. These can be formed from a democratic atmosphere, in a future Macedonian Republic. There are no really educated Communists. The Macedonian Communist authority is pro-Bulgarian. It is far more nationalistic than Communist - proletarian. It tends toward Sofia. It is suspicious of whatever comes from Belgrade. Such authority is no Communist authority, the ruling people are no Communists. They pretend to be Communist.

The Macedonian Republic is the most unstable Tito's Republic. Her Communists are pro-Bulgarian. Their view of the Macedonian question is pro-Russian. Their cultural links with Sofia are stronger than those with Belgrade. The Macedonian Parliament is in a revolutionary mood. The first forceful quake will separate Macedonia from the remaining republics.

The Macedonian citizens are suspicious of the Communist regime. They do not like it. The activities of the Government have no appeal to them. They are foreign and unintelligible. They wish to get rid of the rulers at a favourable moment.

They do not trust the Soviet Union, either. They expect nothing from it.

The Macedonian citizens wish to get rid of any authority, any dictatorship, first of all of the Communist. They want to create

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a Macedonian Republic from the present People's Republic of Macedonia, the PIRIN Macedonia in Bulgaria, and from the Greek Macedonia. This Macedonian Republic would join a great Balkan Federation.

While the weak stratum of intellectuals are largely linked with Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, the Macedonian people, the ordinary citizens, are linked with America. Through decennia they were emigrating to America. Many houses in Macedonian villages were built with money brought from America. These are the visible marks of American power. Today the Macedonians whisper among themselves that America wants to create such a Macedonian Republic. Of course, the appeal of the rumour is strong.

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